

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 02364 01 OF 02 090204Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
OMB-01 HA-05 /111 W
-----126716 090222Z /21

O 090201Z JUN 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1903
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02364

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: APPROACHES TO FRONTLINE STATES

REFS: (A) USUN 2332, (B) CAPE TOWN 1152, (C) USUN 2305,
(D) USUN 2089, (E) USUN 2134

1. CONTACT GROUP MET PM JUNE 8 TO CONSIDER CONTINUED
BRITISH AND FRENCH OBJECTIONS TO THE APPROACHES TO
FRONTLINE STATES, NIGERIA, AND GABON, OUTLINED REF A.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 02364 01 OF 02 090204Z

BOTH PARIS AND LONDON OPPOSED APPROACHES ON THE GROUNDS
THAT EVEN THE REVISED TALKING POINTS WOULD
UNNECESSARILY RISK ELICITING AN EMOTIONAL RESPONSE FROM
THE FRONTLINE. WORD OF THE FRONTLINE SUMMIT SCHEDULED
FOR JUNE 10 ONLY REINFORCED THEIR OPPOSITION, AS
IT RAISED FEARS THAT ADVANCE DISCUSSION OF THE LIKELY
SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION MIGHT STIMULATE UNHELPFUL POSITIONS

DURING THE SUMMIT. THE BRITISH FURTHER STATED THAT THE FIVE DO NOT NEED TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION IN ADVANCE AND CAN ALWAYS SAY LATER THAT THEY TRIED TO PREVENT IT. IT BECAME CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT BRITISH OPPOSITION TO A SOUTH AFRICAN ANNOUNCEMENT IS RAPIDLY DIMINISHING. THE BRITISH RESPONDED TO FOURIE'S DESCRIPTION (REF B) OF THE FORM THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD TAKE BY REMARKING THAT "IT IS NOT AS BAD AS WE HAD FEARED" AND THAT THE "WORST PARTS" OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION WOULD BE "POSTPONED FOR SOME TIME". COMMENT: BOTH THE CANADIANS AND THE GERMANS SUGGESTED PRIVATELY TO US THAT THE BRITISH ARE TRYING TO KEEP OPEN THE OPTION OF RECOGNIZING AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. END COMMENT.

2. WITH THE STRONG SUPPORT OF THE GERMANS AND CANADIANS, WE INSISTED ON THE NECESSITY OF THE PROPOSED FRONTLINE DEMARCHES. WE ARGUED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO PREVENT THE EMOTIONAL RESPONSE WHICH WAS LIKELY TO COME FROM THE FRONTLINE IF THEY WERE SURPRISED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN ANNOUNCEMENT; THAT THE FORM OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD NOT REDUCE THE SEVERITY OF THAT RESPONSE, AND THAT THE SCHEDULING OF THE SUMMIT FOR JUNE 10 MADE IMMEDIATE DEMARCHES EVEN MORE IMPORTANT. WE ARGUED THAT IF THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS LEFT THE SUMMIT AFTER AN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 02364 01 OF 02 090204Z

EXASPERATING WEEKEND OF TRYING TO REASON WITH NUJOMA AND WERE IMMEDIATELY CONFRONTED WITH A SOUTH AFRICAN MOVE TOWARD AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, THE CHANCES OF AN EMOTIONAL RESPONSE WOULD BE HEIGHTENED. THE CANADIANS ARGUED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS, IN MAKING THEIR ANNOUNCEMENT, WILL SURELY STATE THAT THEY HAD INFORMED US OF THEIR INTENTIONS IN ADVANCE, AND THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS WILL THEREFORE FEEL THAT WE HAD BEEN HOLDING BACK ON THEM. THEY WILL LOSE CONFIDENCE IN THE FIVE, AND, AS THE GERMANS STATED, THAT CONFIDENCE IS THE FOUNDATION OF OUR EFFORT.

3. THE DEBATE WENT ON IN FRIENDLY BUT UNYIELDING TERMS FOR A TIME, AND THEN GRADUALLY THE BRITISH SEEMED TO TAKE THE POINT ABOUT FRONTLINE CONFIDENCE. WE TOOK THE POSITION ALONG WITH THE CANADIANS AND GERMANS THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE ADVISE THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS PRIOR TO THE SUMMIT OF OUR LATEST POSITION ON WALVIS BAY BUT THAT WE WOULD NOT AGREE TO A DEMARCHE FOR THAT PURPOSE UNLESS SOME WARNING ABOUT THE LIKELY SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION WAS INCLUDED.

4. THE BRITISH EVENTUALLY SUGGESTED THAT WE CONSIDER

LANGUAGE FOR AN APPROACH CONCERNING WALVIS BAY AND INCLUDING A SHORT WARNING ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA. THE CONTACT GROUP SUBSEQUENTLY AGREED ON THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS: BEGIN TEXT.

1. WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT A FRONTLINE SUMMIT WILL BE HELD IN LUANDA ON 10 JUNE. WE WANT TO BRING YOU UP TO DATE ON SOME DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING NAMIBIA. IN PARTICULAR, WE WISH YOU TO BE AWARE OF OUR POSITION ON WALVIS BAY. (AMBASSADORS SHOULD THEN QUOTE OUR POSITION ON WALVIS BAY AS DEFINED IN THE PAPER FOR

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 02364 02 OF 02 090206Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
OMB-01 HA-05 /111 W

-----126731 090226Z /21

O 090201Z JUN 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1904
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02364

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

KUANDA: REF D AS REVISED REF E. AMBASSADORS SHOULD ALSO PROVIDE THAT DEFINITION OF OUR POSITION ON WALVIS BAY TO THE FRONTLINE STATES IN WRITING.)

2. WE ALSO WISH YOU TO KNOW THAT THE SOUTH

AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS INFORMED US THAT THEY INTEND TO ANNOUNCE SHORTLY MEASURES RELATING TO THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IN NAMIBIA. WE HAVE TOLD THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT WE DISAPPROVE OF ANY SUCH ACTION AS INCONSISTENT WITH OUR PROPOSAL. IF DESPITE OUR DEMARCH TO

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 02364 02 OF 02 090206Z

THEM THEY PERSIST IN GOING AHEAD, WE SHALL MAKE OUR POSITION ON THIS VERY CLEAR IN PUBLIC. END TEXT.

5. THE BRITISH CONCURRED WITH THESE TALKING POINTS IN THE BELIEF THAT LONDON: (A) WOULD TAKE THE POINT ON FRONTLINE CONFIDENCE; (B) WOULD WANT SOMETHING SAID ABOUT WALVIS BAY; AND (C) MIGHT NOT OBJECT TO THE BRIEF WARNING ABOVE SINCE IT AVOIDED WHAT THEY CONSIDERED THE EMOTIONAL TONE OF THE EARLIER DRAFTS. THE FRENCH RELUCTANTLY CONCURRED. WE NOTED THAT THE BRITISH AND FRENCH INSISTENCE ON BREVITY CURIOUSLY ELIMINATED THE SUBSTANTIVE POINT THAT A UNILATERAL REGISTRATION WOULD NOT BE VALID AND THAT, IF AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED, "A PROCESS OF REGISTRATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROPOSAL WILL BE REQUIRED". WE THEREFORE AGREED TO THE ABOVE TALKING POINTS ONLY AFTER GETTING THE BRITISH ASSURANCE THAT LONDON APPROVES THE DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT (REF C) WHICH CONTAINS THESE TWO POINTS. (ALL FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOW APPROVED THAT PRESS STATEMENT WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE MAY LATER NEED TO BE MINOR REVISIONS IN LIGHT OF THE LANGUAGE AND NATURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ANNOUNCEMENT.)

6. COMMENT. THE FRENCH AND BRITISH INSIST THAT THEIR DIFFERENCE WITH THE REST OF THE GROUP IS PURELY TACTICAL. WE SHARE WITH THE CANADIANS AND GERMANS THE VIEW THAT THERE ARE IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES INVOLVED. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT, WITH THE AGREEMENT ON THE PRESS STATEMENT, WE HAVE ASSURED THAT OUR CONCESSIONS HAVE BEEN PURELY TACTICAL. WE ARE STILL ANXIOUS TO HAVE THE CONCURRENCE OF LONDON AND PARIS IN HAND AND ARE CONCERNED THAT THERE WILL BE ALL TOO LITTLE TIME TO MAKE THE PROPOSED APPROACHES, BUT WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THEY CAN BE MADE BEFORE THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS DEPART FOR THE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 02364 02 OF 02 090206Z

SUMMIT.

7. THE CANADIANS HAVE REQUESTED THAT AFRICAN ADDRESSEES PROVIDE THEIR CANADIAN COLLEAGUES WITH COPIES OF THE

ABOVE TALKING POINTS AND INFORM THEM OF OTTAWA'S CONCURRENCE. (BOTH THE CANADIANS AND GERMANS HERE SAY THAT THEY DO NOT NEED TO REFER THE NEW TALKING POINTS TO CAPITALS.) IF THE APPROACHES ARE APPROVED IN LONDON AND PARIS, THE FRENCH AND BRITISH WILL APPROACH THE ANGOLANS IN LUANDA (AND ALSO PERHAPS IN NEW YORK IF FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE IS STILL HERE AND AVAILABLE).

8. FOR THE DEPARTMENT: ALTHOUGH THE BRITISH HERE SAY THAT LONDON APPROVES OF THE PROPOSED PRESS STATEMENT, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO CONFIRM THIS IN LONDON. A SOUTH AFRICAN ANNOUNCEMENT WILL NOT LEAVE US WITH TIME TO GO THROUGH THE HAGGLING OF THE PAST THREE DAYS. YOUNG

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978USUNN02364
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780240-0754
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780674/aaaacklu.tel
Line Count: 237
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 61b7bf8b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 USUN NEW YORK 2332, 78 CAPE TOWN 1152, 78 USUN NEW YORK 2305, 78 USUN NEW YORK 2089, 78 USUN NEW YORK 2134
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2407339
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: APPROACHES TO FRONTLINE STATES
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbcc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/61b7bf8b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014